

# CHILD REFUGEES OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

*Alicia Muñoz Ramírez<sup>1</sup>*

## *Abstract*

The present work, the product of a research project currently underway, attempts to reflect on forced displacements from a historical perspective, analyzing by means of the study of primary and secondary sources how the term refugee is to be understood, the situation of child refugees of the Spanish Civil War, and the consequences of this war for minors. The paper includes a first approach to the study of the principal ways and mechanisms for evacuation in order to understand how, when, and to what countries people fled and the reactions which humanitarian aid to the child refugees of the Civil War generated. At all times the study maintains a focus on human rights, is framed within the field of study known as Refugee Studies, and is integrated in the historiographical line of inquiry centered in the study of the children of the Spanish Civil War. Taking as a point of departure this line of research this paper attempts to define a more specialized path with which to continue helping to rescue the voice of the historical refugees, and, at the same time, to contribute information which may help to develop more secure ways for refugees and more complete systems of aid and integration, above all for those who are children.

## *Keywords*

Refugees, Spanish Civil War, children, Human Rights.

## *Summary*

1. Introduction; 2. The Spanish Civil War: a stolen childhood; 3. The Mass Evacuations of Children; 4. The end of the Spanish Civil War: flights and repatriations; 5. Conclusions; 6. References

---

<sup>1</sup> Lecturer, Salamanca University – Spain.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The movement of populations, changing their habitual residence as a consequence of wars, is not a new phenomenon. We have references to persons displaced by wars from the time of ancient Greece and Rome until the present. However, this type of forced migration reached a dramatic intensity throughout the twentieth century, above all in the second half, coinciding with what the historian Hobsbawm has called “the era of extremes.”<sup>2</sup>

Likewise, in what we have seen of the twenty-first century extremely high levels of movements of population have been recorded due to diverse conflicts. In fact, violence currently forces thousands of families to abandon their homes to save their lives, and we find ourselves facing the greatest crisis of displacements in history, with 79.5 million people displaced by force in 2019, according to data from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (ACNUR), the equivalent of one percent of the world’s population, the highest level ever recorded. Among them are 29.6 million refugees, and more than half of them are younger than 18.<sup>3</sup>

In Spain there is currently little awareness regarding the topic of forced displacements, and the term “refugee” has little impact on our collective consciousness. However, the civil war which took place in Spain between 1936 and 1939, and which is part of what has been called “the age of extremes,” is a clear example of forced displacement of population which compelled thousands of persons to become refugees.

But how is the term “refugee” to be understood? The Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of the United Nations, of 1951, was created after

---

<sup>2</sup> HOBBSAWM 1998, 27-225.

<sup>3</sup> ALTO COMISIONADO DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS PARA LOS REFUGIADOS (ACNUR) 2020.

the Second World War, in an attempt to respond to the consequences of that war, offering international protection and assistance to the victims of that conflict and seeking to guarantee that the rights of refugees be respected and protected. It is important to take into account that the Spanish Civil War is considered to be the prelude to the Second World War, and, in some respects, a laboratory for experiments for that conflict, as Europe was engulfed in a crisis, and the Spanish Civil War was the first of the explosions. It is the case that, taking into account Article 1 of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of the United Nations,<sup>4</sup> emended by the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1967<sup>5</sup> to eliminate the limitation of time and space (at first it was limited to Europe before 1951), and following the clarifications of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the term refugee is applied to all those persons who have found themselves or find themselves obligated to leave their homes and live outside their native country or are outside their native country because they are fleeing from armed conflicts, from violence, or from persecution for reasons related to religion, politics, race, etc. They flee to safe areas in search of asylum and basic care. Their migration takes place in the context of war or of humanitarian crises.

The present work always maintains a focus on human rights and is framed within the field of study known as Refugee Studies, which since the decade of the 1980s owes a great part of its development and consolidation to the Refugee Studies Centre of the University of Oxford, one of the principal world centers for research regarding refugees. More concretely, this investigation is integrated within the historiographical line of research developed in Spain since the latter part of the 1980s, and which is centered in the study of the children who suffered during the Spanish Civil War. In

---

<sup>4</sup> ORGANIZACIÓN DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS (ONU) 1951.

<sup>5</sup> ORGANIZACIÓN DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS (ONU) 1967.

this area the research of the historian Alicia Altied Vigil stands out.<sup>6</sup> As of now this historiographical line of inquiry has continued to grow and to become increasingly specialized, above all since Graça Machel in 1996, an outstanding Mozambican social activist, presented a report to the United Nations General Assembly, the completion of which had been assigned to her by the Secretary of the United Nations between 1992 and 1996, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, titled “Repercussions of Armed Conflicts on Children.”<sup>7</sup> This report had a great effect at the government level, as well as on public opinion. It has led to the application of a series of measures, actions, and interdisciplinary studies centered on protecting children in the best way possible from the wars they find themselves caught up in.

## 2. THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR: A STOLEN CHILDHOOD

The Spanish Civil War, unleashed by the failed coup d'état of July 17-18, 1936 against the government of the Spanish Second Republic, and which led to the dictatorship of General Francisco Franco between 1939 and 1975, assumed the character of total war and served as a testing ground for the Second World War. The consequences which this war unleashed on the civilian population were unprecedented. Flagrant violations of human rights were committed. “Spain lost some 600,000 people,”<sup>8</sup> and hereby began one of the first refugee disasters of grand scale of the twentieth century.

Forced displacements increased sharply in the Republican zone, organized evacuations being set in motion by the official organizations of the Second Republic, but there was also spontaneous mass flight. When the war had

---

<sup>6</sup> ALTIED VIGIL 1996; ALTIED VIGIL 2003a; ALTIED VIGIL 2003b; ALTIED VIGIL 2005a; ALTIED VIGIL 2005b.

<sup>7</sup> ORGANIZACIÓN DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS (ONU) 1996.

<sup>8</sup> THOMAS 1979, 17.

ended, as the historian Paul Preston has stated, “For more than half a million refugees the only possible escape was exile.”<sup>9</sup> In fact, according to the historian Javier Rubio, it has been calculated that between the people who found themselves forced to flee the country during the war, added to those who left Spain as a consequence of the outcome of the war, a total of some 684,000 people was forced to go into exile.<sup>10</sup>

While some countries were more inclined to accept these refugees, others categorically refused to do so. When the conflict had ended, some of these people were returned to Franco’s Spain, others returned with the passing of years, others have not yet returned to the country of their birth, while still others, around 9,000, according to data of the historians Benito Bermejo and Sandra Checa, among them even some adolescents, ended up, after 1940, in Nazi concentration camps.<sup>11</sup>

In this context, as in all wars, children were the principal victims.

As soon as the war began thousands of households were broken up because the fathers enlisted and went to the front, had to flee, were imprisoned, or were executed. The helplessness which children experienced in these situations was much worse in parts of the country near the front, as these were areas prone to aerial bombardment and where the scarcity of food and diseases, in many cases due to poor hygienic conditions, extended rapidly. The effects of the war caused grave harm to all children, but the major impact was on those in the Republican zone due to the direction of events. Refugees of the Spanish Civil War who were minors were robbed on their childhood, and their story is perhaps one of the least well-known aspects of that conflict. However, as the historian Alicia Alted, recognized expert in the subject, emphasizes, in the Spanish Civil War there was seen “...for the first time in history, the phenomenon of evacuations of children to foreign

---

<sup>9</sup> PRESTON 2012, Prologue.

<sup>10</sup> RUBIO 1977, 106.

<sup>11</sup> BERMUDO AND CHECA, 2006.

countries promoted at the government level and with the help of numerous political organizations, unions, and humanitarian aid from various countries.”<sup>12</sup> This was due to the great desire that was felt from the beginning of the conflict to separate children from the effects of the war, this being one of the priorities of the Spanish Republican government.

This priority is related to Article 43 of the Republican Constitution of 1931,<sup>13</sup> an article which incorporated the principles of the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child.<sup>14</sup> The declaration was adopted by the League of Nations in 1924, and ratified in 1934, in order, due to the disasters resulting from the First World War, to protect childhood. In fact, it is the first international text which specifically treats children’s rights, and it underlines the responsibility of adults, governments, and institutions towards them. Therefore, the Republican government appealed to that awareness and solidarity present in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child in order that the signatory states might welcome child refugees of the Spanish Civil War, trying to ensure them their right to development, assistance, aid, and protection.

The fact that the Spanish Civil War would break out shortly after the Geneva Declaration was ratified, as well as the impact of this war had on the civilian population, brought it about that the specific situation of the Spanish children had a profound impact on international public opinion.

To get some idea of the brutal effect the Civil War had on children in Spain we can follow the investigation of the historian Ramon Salas Larrazábal, who stresses that during the war around 138,000 more children died than the predicted number of deaths if they had lived in peacetime. To this child

---

<sup>12</sup> ALTED VIGIL 2005, 266.

<sup>13</sup> CONSTITUCIÓN DE LA REPÚBLICA ESPAÑOLA 1931.

<sup>14</sup> HUMANIUM.

mortality it is necessary to add the psychological trauma and other consequences, the diseases, and the malnutrition which they suffered.<sup>15</sup>

In August of 1936, only a month after the outbreak of the war, the government of the Republic took the first measures in an attempt to protect the juvenile population. Furthermore, with the Battle of Irun, which took place between August 27th and September 5<sup>th</sup> of 1936, and which ended with the border crossing at Irun in the hands of the rebels, a result was the first mass exodus of the civilian population, principally women, senior citizens, and children, towards the border with France.

In October of 1936, with the start of the siege of Madrid by the rebels, the Committee for Refugees was created for Madrid and the Madrid Province. Its principal role was to organize the evacuation of the civilian population towards the Mediterranean coast. The lawyer Victoria Kent, named by the Republican government as First Secretary of the Spanish Embassy in Paris, took charge of the evacuations of children from Spain and issued a series of directions for the creation of nursery-shelters for children in Madrid.<sup>16</sup> Likewise, also in October 1936, in Barcelona the Central Committee for Aid to Refugees in Catalonia was created. In the spring on 1937 it already had charge of 10,000 children.<sup>17</sup> The system of camps which the Republican government created, especially in the provinces of Alicante, Valencia, Castellon, those of Aragon and Catalonia, and even abroad, made it possible that in 1937 there existed more than 500 collective camps and placement with families which provided refuge to some 54,284 children.<sup>18</sup>

The intention of the government, of their own families, and of diverse institutions was to separate the children from the bombardments, violence, and hardships of the war and bring them to zones, although it had to be in

---

<sup>15</sup> SALAS LARRAZÁBAL 1979, 289.

<sup>16</sup> ORTUÑO MARTÍNEZ 2012, 181.

<sup>17</sup> FERNANDEZ SORIA 1987, 91.

<sup>18</sup> ORTUÑO MARTÍNEZ 2012, 181; ALCALÁ 2010, 21.

other countries, where they could be safe and sound and so recover. What was intended was a kind of camp, financed by humanitarian aid organizations, where youths could receive support and protection.

In February of 1937 the Central Office for Evacuation and Aid to Refugees (OCEAR) was created. It was the responsibility of the anarchist and feminist Federica Montseny, Minister of Health. Within a few months the OCEAR came to be integrated into the Ministry of Labor and Social Assistance until its dissolution in January of 1938. At that time, January of 1938, the General Directory for Evacuation and Refugees of the Ministry of Labor and Social Aid was created. It was led by Elàdia Faraudo i Puigdollers, and it remained active until the end of the war.

### 3. THE MASS EVACUATIONS OF CHILDREN

The war did not cease, and in the course of 1937 the rebels continued winning battles and conquering territory. The situation brought about the mass evacuations of children.

The official evacuations of children occurred during two periods of time. The first took place between the spring and September of 1937, principally by sea, and those which followed between October of 1938 and February of 1939, mainly by train or by bus.<sup>19</sup>

Of the children who departed in the first period of evacuations we can highlight around 4000 Basque children who left as refugees, on May 21<sup>st</sup>, 1937, from the port of Santurtzi, in the province of Vizcaya, and arrived at Southampton (England). They made the voyage in the famous ship Havana. These children, as soon as they arrived, were admitted to the refugee camp of North Stoneham. In September 1937 all of them were already integrated in camps which were created throughout Great Britain. Their voyage and admission were organized and controlled by the Basque Committee for

---

<sup>19</sup> ALTED VIGIL 2005a, 268.



Children, which formed part of the Joint National Committee for Spanish Aid, a multi-party British organization which coordinated aid for Spain.<sup>20</sup>

As the war advanced in Spain and some areas became a little safer, the children started to be repatriated. According to the research of Gregorio Arrien<sup>21</sup>, in April of 1939 only 400 Basque children remained in Great Britain, and in 1948 only 280. Those older than 16 were given the option to leave the country or to stay. The fact is that this evacuation was undertaken in response to the terrible bombardment in March and April of 1937 of the civilian population in the Basque cities of Durango and Guernica by German and Italian planes which were aiding the rebels. It was precisely after these bombings when international public opinion, shocked by these events, propitiated the spread of the campaign “Help the Children of Spain,” and support for the creation of Committees for the aid of Spanish Children broadened in various countries.<sup>22</sup>

That is how countries such as, for example, England, France, Belgium, the Soviet Union, Switzerland, Denmark, and Mexico, among others, offered to accept the child refugees of the Spanish Civil War. According to data collected by Alicia Alted, it was in France that the greatest number of children found refuge, approximately 20,000. Belgium took in somewhat more than 5,000, England some 4,000, the Soviet Union some 3,000, Switzerland some 800, Mexico more than 450, and another 450 were divided among various countries, such as for example Denmark, which accepted around 100 children.<sup>23</sup> Sweden, Norway, and the Netherlands did not admit children, but they did provide financial support for camps on French soil. In all, more than 33,000 children were evacuated during the Civil War. By

---

<sup>20</sup> ALTED VIGIL 2003a, 54; BENJAMÍN 2003, 96-111.

<sup>21</sup> ARRIEN 2014.

<sup>22</sup> ALTED VIGIL 1996, 214.

<sup>23</sup> ORTUÑO MARTÍNEZ 2012, 182.

1949 around 20,000 of these children had been repatriated, but a considerable number of them ended up as forced exiles.<sup>24</sup>

We cannot overlook the more than 1,000 people from Spain, among them children, who found refuge in Portugal, albeit unofficially, since the regime of António de Oliveira Salazar consistently refused the Spaniards entry, although in the first months of the war he did not have a firm attitude in the matter. They crossed the oldest border in Europe “La Raya.” These refugees settled in the refugee camps of Coitadinha and Russianas. This action was possible in part due to the aid of the those who lived in the area of the town of Barrancos and because the Portuguese lieutenant Antonio Augusto de Seixas falsified data, giving refuge to more Spaniards than the Salazar regime was aware of, an act of mercy which would later result in his imprisonment. And so Seixas, together with the inhabitants of nearby towns, saved the lives of these refugees, the majority from Extremadura and Andalusia, who crossed the frontier when Badajoz fell in August of 1936. On October 10<sup>th</sup>, 1936 these refugees embarked on the ship Nyassa and departed from Lisbon, arriving in Tarragona on October 13<sup>th</sup>. During those months the refugees received only water and some food thanks to the collection which people who lived near the town of Barrancos did. On October 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1936 Portugal completely broke relations with the Republican government, aiding the rebels to pursue, detain, and hand over any Spaniard who tried to seek refuge in Portugal and dared to cross La Raya.<sup>25</sup>

It is the case that in each of the countries to which they were evacuated, the welcome the child refugees received was quite different. For example, in France, in part due to the great influx of refugees, among them a considerable number of children, as we have previously stated, there was always much pressure in favor of repatriation, paying heed to the petitions

---

<sup>24</sup> ALTED VIGIL 2003a, 52; ALONSO CARBALLÉS 1997, 168-185.

<sup>25</sup> ESPINOSA MAESTRE 2007; SIMÕES ANTUNES 2007, 1121-1150; SIMÕES ANTUNES 2016.

of Franco, even though the war still had not ended. Furthermore, the French government of Édouard Daladier applied the Law Decree of November 12<sup>th</sup>, 1938 to intern the refugees in what were called “special centers for undesirable aliens.” In Switzerland humanitarian organizations made a conscientious effort to protect and aid the child refugees, but the federal government did all it could to facilitate repatriation without waiting for the war to end. In Belgium the arrival of the children was preceded by an intense campaign to raise awareness and influence Belgian public opinion. This campaign was carried out by parties and organizations of the left, in particular the Belgian Socialist Party (POB-PWB). In Denmark there was much tension, and there was debate as to whether or not it was appropriate to repatriate them, but the government supported the refugees for some time. However, at the start of 1939 the repatriations began.<sup>26</sup>

The cases of Mexico and the Soviet Union were different, not only because both countries helped the Republican side during the conflict, but also because they refused to repatriate the children and did not officially recognize the dictatorial regime that Franco imposed on Spain when the Civil War had ended. Only in some exceptional cases did some of the child refugees, now adults, return to Spain between the end of the 1940s and the 1950s. In fact, the first official expedition of returnees from the Soviet Union to Spain did not take place until September 1956.

A group called “Children de Morelia” were the first refugees of the Spanish Civil War to arrive in Mexico. They set sail on May 25<sup>th</sup> from Bordeaux, on the transatlantic steamship Mexique, and they disembarked in Veracruz on June 7<sup>th</sup>, 1937. On June 10<sup>th</sup> the population of Morelia had an emotional welcome prepared for them. The government of Lázaro Cárdenas treated the child refugees who were arriving with special care, and at the beginning of 1937 he created Committee for Aid to the Children of the Spanish

---

<sup>26</sup> ALTED VIGIL 2003a, 53-55; EGIDO LEON 2003, 58-75; ALONSO CARBALLÉS 2003, 78-93; FARRÉ 2003, 114-123.

People. His wife presided over the committee. In 1940, when Ávila Camacho replaced Lázaro Cárdenas as president of the country, official support for the Spanish child refugees started to diminish. Towards the end of 1943 the school-camp where they had been was even closed. In this situation, in which there was no support for repatriation, but aid for the child refugees diminished, these child-adolescents found themselves alone, many of them without any kind of family ties in the country, in a difficult process of integration. The situation of the child refugees of Morelia was different from that of the rest, with a process of integration into Mexican society more difficult than that of the rest of the children who arrived in Mexico when the Spanish Civil War ended, many with their families.<sup>27</sup>

The child refugees who arrived in the Soviet Union also received a warm welcome. The first 72 child refugees set sail from Valencia on March 17<sup>th</sup>, 1937 on the ship Cabo de Palos, and they arrived at Yalta in the Crimea on March 28<sup>th</sup>, 1937. There were four expeditions which brought child refugees to the Soviet Union. The last one was in the final part of 1938 with 300 children.<sup>28</sup>

#### 4. THE END OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR: FLIGHTS AND REPATRIATIONS

The rebels emerged victorious from the Civil War on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1939, putting an end to the democratic system of the Second Republic (1931-1939), and marking the beginning of the dictatorship of Franco (1939-1975). In this context one result was that 70,000 children left Spain, children who fled with their mothers and other relatives, and even in some cases

---

<sup>27</sup> ALTED VIGIL 2003a, 55-56; PLA BRUGAT 2003, 162-175; VELÁZQUEZ HERNÁNDEZ 2014, 139-173.

<sup>28</sup> ALTED VIGIL 2005a, 275-278; NICOLÁS MARÍN 2003, 146-159.

unaccompanied.<sup>29</sup> These 70,000 children who left Spain went to France. Some remained there, while others sought refuge in other countries, such as, for example, Argentina, Venezuela, or Chile. In fact, some investigations indicate that around 10,000 Spaniards arrived in Argentina.<sup>30</sup> However, just as Bárbara Ortuño Martínez maintains, “up to now it has proved impossible to provide an exact number of the minors who were displaced to Argentina during and after the conflict.”<sup>31</sup> However, it has been calculated that around 600 of these child refugees still live in the country.<sup>32</sup> Another group of these children departed from the dock of Trompeloup (France) on August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1939. They traveled on the ship Winnipeg, known as the “Ship of Hope,” and they arrived at the port of Valparaíso (Chile) on September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1939.<sup>33</sup> The poet Pablo Neruda played an outstanding role, as honorary consul for Chile in Paris, helping to make possible the transfer of these refugees from the Spanish Civil War, around 2,200, among whom there were many children. The voyage was financed by the Chilean Committee for Aid to Spanish Refugees (CChARE), the Federation of Argentinian Organizations for Spanish Refugees (FOARE), and the Service for Evacuation of Spanish Refugees (SERE). The research of Encarnación Lemus shows that in the following months ships such as Órbita, Formosa, and Reina del Pacífico, continued to arrive in Chile with Spaniards. To these can be added those who arrived from Argentina. Therefore, the total number of Spaniards who went to Chile, fleeing the consequences of the Civil War, comes to some 3,500.<sup>34</sup> Of these it is estimated that around forty of the Spaniards who sailed on the Winnipeg as children are still alive today in Chile. They are now older

---

<sup>29</sup> ALTED VIGIL 2005a, 268.

<sup>30</sup> PLA BRUGAT 2007, 294.

<sup>31</sup> ORTUÑO MARTÍNEZ 2012, 189.

<sup>32</sup> GALLEGO 2012.

<sup>33</sup> FERRER MIR 1989.

<sup>34</sup> LEMUS LÓPEZ 1998, 276.

than 81.<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, the end of the Civil War led to mass repatriations, so that by August of 1939 some 250,000 people had already returned to Spain, the majority of them women and children.<sup>36</sup>

The rebels, headed by Franco, sought the help of the Spanish Children Repatriation Committee in their attempt to find the location of expatriate children and bring them back to Spain even before the war had ended. Furthermore, the Extraordinary Delegation for the Repatriation of Minors, subordinate to the Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista, the Traditional Spanish Phalanx and that of the Councils of the National Syndicalist Offensive (FET y de las JONS), was put to work to bring them back. The Franco regime called them “the children recovered for the Fatherland.”<sup>37</sup> However, these initiatives clashed with rejection of some families, who did all they could to prevent the return of the children, as well as some refugee camps, which resisted and attempted to delay the process of repatriation.

The children who did return found themselves in a Spain very different from the one they had left before the war. Many of them did not adapt and returned to the countries which had welcomed them or sought refuge in other countries. Some of the children who stayed in Spain ended up in orphanages of Social Aid, and a great number of them always bore the stigma of being children of “reds,” suffering discrimination, humiliation, and rejection. This was added to the helplessness of many, either due to the loss of their parents, or to the fact they their mothers and fathers suffered retaliation.<sup>38</sup>

Some of these child refugees of the Spanish Civil War, although now advanced in years, are still alive today and recall and describe, sometimes

---

<sup>35</sup> FREIXAS 2019.

<sup>36</sup> ALTED VIGIL 1996, 217.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*, 218.

<sup>38</sup> ALTED VIGIL 2005, 280; ORTUÑO MARTÍNEZ 2012, 181.

with sorrow, what they have lived through. Some do this from their homes in Spain, others from their residences in England, Mexico, Russia... All of them are living history, and some have even gone to great efforts and done research in order that we not overlook this part of the history of Spain which we must come to know better.<sup>39</sup>

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

Today the Spanish Civil War continues to be a burning issue, open to debate and to analysis, above all because of the humanitarian crisis which it entailed and due to the violations of human rights committed during the conflict.

Furthermore, as of today child refugees, the great involuntary protagonists, continue to flee from seemingly endless wars and continue risking their lives, like the children of the Spanish Civil War, in order to arrive at a country where they are safe. In fact, in a meeting of the U.N. Security Council in December of 2016, which took place due to the Syrian Civil War (2011-present) the permanent members France, the United States, and Great Britain came to compare the situation, which, let us not forget, involves a grave refugee crisis, with the impact and the consequences which the bombing of Guernica entailed for the Spanish population, and especially for the children, during the Spanish Civil War.

Therefore, studies in this direction are most necessary in order to help to reconstruct history, not repeat mistakes, and to reflect on the best ways to protect refugees. Thus, taking as an example what has been analyzed in the case of the child refugees of the Spanish Civil War, this investigation currently underway has tried to contribute to the recovery of the historical

---

<sup>39</sup> GARRIDO 2005; VVAA 2010.

memory of the refugees, to learning what they lived through, and to raising consciousness regarding how important it is that historiography, aided by the rest of the disciplines in order in this way to apply an interdisciplinary focus which permits the incorporation of different aspects and nuances, implement an explicative model which permits us to continue advancing in the analysis, reflection, and debate regarding the events leading to departure, integration in the country which accepts the refugees, the education they receive, or their participation in the society of the country which welcomes child refugees.

*La patria no es una bandera ni una pistola  
La patria es un niño que nos mira.*<sup>40</sup>

## REFERENCES

- ALCALÁ, César.: *Los niños del exilio (1936-1939)*, Madrid, 2010.
- ALONSO CARBALLE, Jesús Javier, "La historiografía sobre 'los niños del exilio': la historia olvidada", *Exils et Migrations Ibériques au XXe siècle*, 3 / 4, 1997, 168-185.
- ALONSO CARBALLÉS, Jesús Javier, "La acogida de los niños en Bélgica, la expresión de una solidaridad familiar", en: ALTED VIGIL, Alicia; GONZÁLEZ MARTELL, Roger y MILLÁN TRUJILLO, María José (coords.), *El exilio de los niños*, Madrid, 2003, 78-93.
- ALTED VIGIL, Alicia, "Las consecuencias de la guerra civil española en los niños de la República : de la dispersión al exilio", *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Revista de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia de la UNED*, Serie V, nº 9, 1996, 207-228.

---

<sup>40</sup> [The mother country is not a banner, nor is it a gun.  
The mother country is a child gazing at us]. FUERTES 2001, 19.



ALTED VIGIL, Alicia, "Los niños de la Guerra Civil", *Anales de Historia Contemporánea*, 19, 2003a, 43-58.

ALTED VIGIL, Alicia, *Historia y memoria de los niños de la guerra (en el siglo XX)*, Madrid, 2003b.

ALTED VIGIL, Alicia, "El 'instante congelado' del exilio de los niños de la guerra civil española", *Rivista telematica di studi sulla memoria femminile*, n° 3, 2005a, 263-280.

ALTED VIGIL, Alicia, *La voz de los vencidos. El exilio republicano de 1939*, Madrid, 2005b.

ALTO COMISIONADO DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS PARA LOS REFUGIADOS (ACNUR), *79,5 millones de personas desplazadas a la fuerza en 2019*, [2020], <https://eacnur.org/es/actualidad/noticias/eventos/informe-tendencias-globales-desplazamiento-2019> (consultado el 17 de agosto de 2020).

ARRIEN, Gregorio, *Salvad a los niños. Historia del exilio vasco en Gran Bretaña*, Bilbao, 2014.

BENJAMÍN, Natalia, "Niños vascos en Gran Bretaña", en: ALTED VIGIL, Alicia; GONZÁLEZ MARTELL, Roger y MILLÁN TRUJILLO, María José (coords.), *El exilio de los niños*, Madrid, 2003, 96-111.

BERMEJO, Benito y CHECA, Sandra, *Libro memorial. Españoles deportados a los campos nazis (1940-1945)*, Madrid, 2006.

CONSTITUCIÓN DE LA REPÚBLICA ESPAÑOLA, *Gaceta de Madrid*, 344 [10 de diciembre de 1931] <https://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1931/344/A01578-01588.pdf> (Consultado el 21 de agosto de 2020)

DELGADO FERNÁNDEZ, Manuel, "Los niños refugiados", *OCEAR. Periódico quincenal que se reparte gratis a los refugiados*, n.º 4, 15 de octubre de 1937.

EGIDO LEÓN, Ángeles, "Francia, país de tránsito y de acogida, en el exilio de los niños", en: ALTED VIGIL, Alicia; GONZÁLEZ MARTELL, Roger y MILLÁN TRUJILLO, María José (coords.), *El exilio de los niños*, Madrid, 2003, 58-75.

ESPINOSA MAESTRE, Francisco, *La columna de la muerte. El avance del ejército franquista de Sevilla a Badajoz*, Barcelona, 2007.

FARRÉ, Sebastián, "Política y propaganda. Niños refugiados en Suiza durante la Guerra Civil", en: ALTED VIGIL, Alicia; GONZÁLEZ MARTELL, Roger y MILLÁN FERNÁNDEZ SORIA, Juan Manuel, "La asistencia a la infancia en la Guerra Civil. Las colonias escolares", *Historia de la educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, nº6, 1987, 83-128

FERRER MIR, Jaime, *Los españoles del Winnipeg: el barco de la esperanza*, Santiago, 1989.

FREIXAS, Meritxell, "El exilio español en Chile a bordo del Winnipeg cumple 80 años: Mi abuelo salió del pueblo en un barril de aceitunas", [https://www.eldiario.es/internacional/exilio-espanol-chile-winnipeg-aceitunas\\_1\\_1370862.html](https://www.eldiario.es/internacional/exilio-espanol-chile-winnipeg-aceitunas_1_1370862.html) *ElDiario.es* [2 de septiembre de 2019] (Consultado el 22 de agosto de 2020)

FUERTES, Gloria, *Glorierías (Para que os enteréis)*, Madrid, 2001.

GALLEGO, Gisela, "Memorias de la guerra civil española, desde una hija eterna del exilio", *El Gran Otro* [19 de julio de 2012] <http://elgranotro.com/memorias-de-la-guerra-civil-espanola-desde-una-hija-eterna-del-exilio/> (Consultado el 22 de agosto de 2020).

GARRIDO, Luis, *Los niños que perdimos la guerra*, Madrid, 2005.

HOBSBAWM, Eric, *Historia del Siglo XX*, Buenos Aires, 1998.

HUMANIUM, *Declaración de Ginebra sobre los Derechos del niño, 1924* <https://www.humanium.org/en/geneva-declaration/> (Consultado el 22 de agosto de 2020)

LEMUS LÓPEZ, Encarnación, "La investigación de «los refugiados españoles» en Chile: fuentes y hallazgos en un exilio de larga duración", *Exils et migrations ibériques au XXe siècle*, 5, 1998, 273-293.

NICOLÁS MARÍN, María Encarna, "Los niños españoles en la Unión Soviética", en: ALTED VIGIL, Alicia; GONZÁLEZ MARTELL, Roger y MILLÁN TRUJILLO, María José (coords.), *El exilio de los niños*, Madrid, 2003, 146-159.

ORGANIZACIÓN DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS (ONU), Asamblea General, *Convención sobre el Estatuto de los Refugiados*, [28 de julio de 1996], <https://www.acnur.org/5b0766944.pdf> (consultado el 20 de agosto de 2020).

ORGANIZACIÓN DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS (ONU), Asamblea General, Protocolo sobre el Estatuto de los Refugiados, [31 de enero de 1967], <https://www.acnur.org/5b076dcd4.pdf> (consultado el 20 de agosto de 2020).

ORGANIZACIÓN DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS (ONU), Asamblea General, *Repercusiones de los conflictos armados sobre los niños*, A/51/306 [26 de agosto de 1996], <https://www.acnur.org/fileadmin/Documentos/BDL/2008/6260.pdf> (consultado el 17 de agosto de 2020).

ORTUÑO MARTÍNEZ, Barbara, "De la memoria histórica a la memoria colectiva: los niños de la Guerra Civil en Argentina", *Ayer*, 85, 2012, 175-200.

PLA BRUGAT, Dolores, "Los niños del exilio español en México", en: ALTED VIGIL, Alicia; GONZÁLEZ MARTELL, Roger y MILLÁN TRUJILLO, María José (coords.), *El exilio de los niños*, Madrid, 2003, 162-175.

PLA BRUGAT, Dolores (coord.), *Pan, trabajo y hogar. El exilio republicano español en América Latina*, México DF, 2007.

PRESTON, Paul, *El holocausto español*, Madrid, 2012.

RUBIO, Javier, *La emigración de la Guerra Civil de 1936-1939*, Madrid, 1977.

SIMÕES ANTUNES, María Dulce, "Os refugiados da Guerra Civil de Espanha em Barrancos. A acção e o tempo do acontecimento", *Revista de Estudos Extremenos*, 63/3, 2007, 1121-1150.

SALAS LARRAZÁBAL, Ramón, "El mito del millón de muertos. Demografía contra leyenda", en: THOMAS, Hugh, *La guerra civil española. Tomo VI. Camino para la paz. Los historiadores y la Guerra Civil*, Madrid, 1979, 256 - 289.

SIMÕES ANTUNES, María Dulce, *A Guerra de Espanha na raia luso-espanhola. Resistências, solidariedades e usos da memória*, Lisboa (Portugal), 2016.

THOMAS, Hugh, "Conclusión", en THOMAS, Hugh, *La guerra civil española. Tomo V. Conclusión, epílogo, apéndices, bibliografías, cronología e índices*, Madrid, 1979, 3 - 44.

TRUJILLO, María José (coords.), *El exilio de los niños*, Madrid, 2003, 114-123.

VELÁZQUEZ HERNÁNDEZ, Aurelio, "El proyecto de casas-hogar para los niños de Morelia (1943-1948)", *Tzintzun: Revista de Estudios Históricos*, nº 59, 2014, 139-173.

VVAA, *Traumas. Niños de la guerra y del exilio*, Barcelona, 2010.